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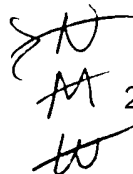
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TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
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1. Deputy Director for Science and Technology Room 6E45 - Headquarters				FYI, U.S. Embassy Moscow has passed along some kudos on a recent FBIS analysis. The analysis was done by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 60px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> D/FBIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 01770

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ECON, KSCA, PGOV, PINR, UR
SUBJECT: ELECTIONS TO THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

REFS: (A) 84 MOSCOW 15778, (B) MOSCOW 1197, (C) FBIS
TRENDS OF JANUARY 9, 1985

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: FBIS' REPORT (REF C) IS AN IMPRESSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. WE PROVIDE IN THIS CABLE SOME FURTHER BACKGROUND ON THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE ELECTED, AS WELL AS THE LESS FORTUNATE. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, THE ACADEMY REMAINS AN INSTITUTION UNIQUE IN SOVIET SOCIETY IN THAT IT IS ABLE TO ASSERT A NOTABLE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE FROM PARTY FIAT; ELECTIONS TO THE ACADEMY ARE BASED PRIMARILY ON MERIT AND ONLY SECONDARILY ON POLITICAL STANDING AND CONNECTIONS. WE WOULD THUS BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT ASSIGNING POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE ELECTION OF PARTICULAR INDIVIDUALS. THIS SAID, WE WOULD AGREE THAT THE DEGREE OF VULNERABILITY TO POLITICAL PRESSURE PROBABLY VARIES WIDELY AMONG DIFFERENT ACADEMY DEPARTMENTS. END SUMMARY.

3. PARTY FIGURES UNQUESTIONABLY ENJOY AN EDGE IN NOMINATION AND ELECTION TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. HOWEVER, THE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS TO US THAT PARTY LEADERS CANNOT NECESSARILY SECURE THE ELECTION OF A PARTICULAR CLIENT TO THE ACADEMY IF HE LACKS APPROPRIATE PROFESSIONAL OR EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS. IN THIS SENSE, THE ACADEMY IS A UNIQUE INSTITUTION IN SOVIET SOCIETY. A CASE IN POINT IS THE LONG CAMPAIGN BY SERGEI TRAPEZNIKOV TO BE ELECTED TO THE ACADEMY. TRAPEZNIKOV, A BREZHNEV CRONY, WAS ONLY ELECTED A CORRESPONDING MEMBER A DECADE AFTER HE FIRST SOUGHT ADMITTANCE. THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ELECTION PROCESS IS UNDERSCORED BY THE FACT THAT TRAPEZNIKOV SERVED AS HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S SCIENCE AND EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, AND HENCE WAS IN A

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DIRECT POSITION TO AFFECT THE CAREERS OF THE ACADEMY MEMBERS WHO NEVERTHELESS VOTED HIM DOWN.

4. TRAPEZNIKOV'S SUCCESSOR IN THE SCIENCE AND EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, VADIM MEDVEDEV, WAS HIMSELF ELECTED TO THE ACADEMY ONLY ON HIS SECOND ATTEMPT (HE WAS ALSO NOMINATED IN 1981). WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST ATTRIBUTING MEDVEDEV'S ELECTION TO ROMANOV'S CLOUT. MEDVEDEV, AFTER ALL PREVIOUSLY SERVED FOR FIVE YEARS AS RECTOR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, ONE OF THE PARTY'S MAJOR ACADEMIC INSTITUTES. WHILE WE CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT MEDVEDEV MAY HAVE PARTICULAR TIES TO ROMANOV, ONE MUST BE CAREFUL IN ASSUMING THAT ANY GRADUATE OF THE HUGE LENINGRAD NETWORK IS A LIFETIME ROMANOV CLIENT. MEDVEDEV, AFTER ALL, MAY HAVE GAINED HIS RECENT ADVANCEMENT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE BASIS OF THE PERFORMANCE HE TURNED IN OVER THE ELIUS FIVE YEARS IN MOSCOW.

5. THE EXISTENCE OF TIES BETWEEN CERTAIN OTHER NEW MEMBERS AND LEADERSHIP FIGURES IS MORE PLAUSIBLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF NIKONOV, WHO HELD AGRI-CULTURE ASSIGNMENTS IN THE RELATIVELY SMALL STAVROPOL KRAI HEADED AT THAT TIME BY GORBACHEV. EVEN HERE, HOWEVER, WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST AN ASSUMPTION THAT THE MEN WERE ELECTED AS A RESULT OF LEADERSHIP PATRONAGE AND WILL BE EXPECTED TO FURTHER THE INFLUENCE OF THESE PATRONS.

6. THAT SAID, WE FOUND THE FBIS ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE ECONOMICS DIVISION TO BE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST. IT MAY BE THAT ANY INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF NEW MEMBERS IN THIS DIVISION WAS INTENDED TO GIVE GREATER RANGE TO THE DEBATE IN THIS CRUCIAL AREA. WE ARE LESS SURE THAN FBIS ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE INCREASE IN THE ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT REPRESENTS AN ACTUAL INCREASE IN SLOTS AS OPPOSED TO FILLING OF EXISTING VACANCIES. WE NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION THAT IZVESTIYA OF SEPTEMBER 13 PUBLISHED A LIST OF ACADEMY VACANCIES WHICH CONTAINED SLOTS FOR THE ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT OF 2 FULL AND 6 CORRESPONDING MEMBERS AND 1 CORRESPONDING MEMBER FOR THE SIBERIAN BRANCH. WE ALSO NOTE THAT THE ELEVATION OF A CORRESPONDING MEMBER TO FULL MEMBER AND HIS REPLACEMENT RESULTS IN THE APPEARANCE OF 2 NEW MEMBERS, ALTHOUGH IN FACT ONLY ONE NEW PERSON HAS

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ENTERED THE ACADEMY RANKS. EMBOFFS HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE OVERALL SIZE OF THE ACADEMY HAS BEEN INCREASED ONLY BY 10 FULL MEMBERS AND 20 CORRESPONDING MEMBERS TO 260 AND 520 RESPECTIVELY. (OUR SOURCE, CHIEF SCIENTIFIC SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY SKRYABIN, REMARKED THAT THE NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS IS ALWAYS DOUBLE THAT OF THE FULL MEMBERS.) WE NOTE THAT THE STATUTES OF THE ACADEMY SPECIFY THAT IT IS THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHICH DETERMINES THE NUMBER OF SLOTS WHICH CAN BE FILLED IN THE ACADEMY ELECTIONS. SKRYABIN ATTRIBUTED THE INCREASE IN ACADEMY SLOTS TO THE CREATION OF THE NEW INFORMATION SCIENCE, COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY AND AUTOMATION DEPARTMENT.

7. TO PUT ANY INCREASE IN VACANCIES IN THE ECONOMICS DIVISION IN PERSPECTIVE, MOREOVER, WE WOULD POINT OUT

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THAT IT WAS NOT THE ONLY EXISTING DIVISION TO BE RECRUITING SUCH LARGE NUMBERS. THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DIVISION ELECTED 3 NEW FULL (ALL OF WHOM PREVIOUSLY WERE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS) AND 11 NEW CORRESPONDING MEMBERS (AS OPPOSED TO ONLY FOUR NEW MEMBERS OVERALL IN THE LAST ELECTIONS). (THE IZVESTIYA ARTICLE CORRECTLY FORESHADOWED THE TOTAL OF 14 NEW MEMBERS, BUT PROJECTED 4 FULL AND 10 CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.)

8. THE SOVIET ELITE'S EFFORTS TO PERPETUATE ITSELF THROUGH ITS OFFSPRING ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE EXTENT THAT THE FAMOUS DOCTRINE "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY" SOMETIMES SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TRANSMOGRIFIED INTO "SOCIALISM IN ONE FAMILY". BUT THE STRENGTH OF FAMILY PULL IS LIMITED IN THE ACADEMY ELECTIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE NOTE THAT YU.M. SOLOMENTSEV (SON OF THE POLITBURO MEMBER) WAS NOT ELECTED (FOR THE SECOND TIME) TO THE NEW INFORMATION SCIENCE, COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY AND AUTOMATION DEPARTMENT. REF B REPORTED THE FAILURE OF THE LATE MARSHAL USTINOV'S SON TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER IN THE LATEST ROUND. WE ALSO NOTE THE UNSUCCESSFUL NOMINATION TO THE SAME DEPARTMENT OF OLEG LEONIDOVICH SMIRNOV WHO MAY BE A SON OF L.V. SMIRNOV, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THAT SAME DEPARTMENT DID, HOWEVER, ELECT L.N. SUMAROKOV, THE SON-IN-LAW OF THE LATE CPSU SENIOR SECRETARY MIKHAIL SUSLOV.

9. AS WE HAVE REPORTED EARLIER (REF A), WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ELECTION PROCESS IS A TWO-PHASE ONE. UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, ACTUAL SELECTIONS ARE MADE IN THE INDIVIDUAL ACADEMY DEPARTMENTS AND THESE SELECTIONS ARE SUBSEQUENTLY RATIFIED AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASUSSR. GIVEN THE MARKEDLY DISPARATE FIELDS COVERED BY THE ACADEMY'S DEPARTMENTS (RANGING, FOR EXAMPLE, FROM NUCLEAR PHYSICS TO LITERATURE AND LANGUAGES), WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THE DEGREE OF POLITICIZATION ALSO VARIES MARKEDLY FROM DEPARTMENT TO DEPARTMENT. ONE COULD SPECULATE THAT THE SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY SUBJECT TO POLITICAL INFLUENCES.

10. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE ABOVE WITH OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES HERE, WHO AGREE WITH THE ESSENTIALS OF THIS ANALYSIS. HARTMAN

END OF MESSAGE

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Academy of Sciences Election Has Political Overtones

Several of the new members of the USSR Academy of Sciences elected in December have close political ties to members of the Politburo. This influx primarily affects the Economics Division, which added party and state officials, key foreign policy spokesmen, and innovative economists. Other social science divisions in the academy appeared to take a cautious approach, bypassing candidates who have taken strong positions on sensitive issues.

The elections to the Academy of Sciences are the only significant elections in the Soviet Union where a genuine choice among candidates is offered. This year approximately 10 candidates were nominated (named in the November issue of the academy's monthly journal) for each available position as full or corresponding member of the prestigious academy. The results were announced in the 29 December *Izvestiya*, which listed 55 new full members and 112 new corresponding members. A TASS report of 26 December stated that this is the largest group of members ever added to the academy by a single election. The elections were held on 25 December after an unexplained one-year delay. The academy rules require elections every two years, but the last election was held in December 1981.

Economics Division Among social science divisions, the election had the biggest effect on the Economics Division, which added three full members and eight corresponding members, expanding the division by over one-third. Most of the expansion represented a party leadership decision to create new slots, since only two vacancies were created by deaths since the last election. The regime's decision to expand the division may have been intended to create room for several politically well-connected figures elected to the division.

The political connections of several of the new members of the Economics Division suggest that the party leadership will have greater influence over this key area of the academy, which has been under heavy criticism.¹ Two new

¹ The party leadership began publicly expressing its concern over the work of economists at the June 1983 party plenum. The leadership's concerns and the response of the economists are discussed in FBIS *Analysis Report* FB 84-10043 of 5 July 1984, "Divisions Among Soviet Economists Impede Reform."

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members (Nikonov and Lukinov) with unusually close personal ties to top political leaders were shown particular favor, being elected directly as full members of the academy and bypassing the stage of corresponding member. The two new corresponding members (Medvedev and Sitaryan) are important political figures in their own right:

- Aleksandr Nikonov was director of Stavropol's main agricultural institute until the late 1970's while party Secretary Gorbachev was Stavropol first secretary. He was elected president of the Lenin Agricultural Academy last June, making him the leading figure among all agricultural scientists.
- Ivan Lukinov became czar over Ukrainian economists under Ukrainian First Secretary Shcherbitskiy in the mid-1970's. Soon after Shcherbitskiy became party first secretary he named Lukinov director of the Ukrainian Institute of Economics. Later he also became vice president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and head of its social sciences section.
- Vadim Medvedev, who became head of the Central Committee's Science and Educational Institutions Department in mid-1983, has been critical of economists. As party supervisor for the whole Academy of Sciences, he wields great power over scholars and scientists and will surely play an influential role in the Economics Division. Medvedev may have ties to Politburo member Romanov. He served as a secretary of the Leningrad city party committee from 1966 to 1971 while Romanov was Leningrad oblast second secretary.
- Stepan Sitaryan, former deputy minister of finance, in April 1983 became a deputy chairman of Gosplan, which has long feuded with the head of the Economics Division, Nikolay Fedorenko.

In addition to those with political ties, several well-known, innovative economists were also elected to the division, strengthening the group led by division Academic Secretary Fedorenko and Abel Aganbegyan:

- Aleksandr Anchishkin, elected full member, is a prominent and longtime department chief in Fedorenko's institute, as well as deputy academic secretary of the Economics Division under Fedorenko.
- Nikolay Petrakov, elected corresponding member, is deputy director of Fedorenko's institute and a close ally of Fedorenko in debates over revising planning methods.

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- Aleksandr Granberg, elected corresponding member, is deputy director of Aganbegyan's Institute for Economics and Organization of Industrial Production in Novosibirsk.

Also added to the division as corresponding members were three foreign affairs specialists:

- Aleksandr Yakovlev, 61, since 1983 has been director of the prestigious Institute for World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO), the main competitor to Georgiy Arbatov's USA and Canada Institute. He is a former first deputy head of the Central Committee Propaganda Department and from 1973 to 1983 was ambassador to Canada. Yakovlev's predecessor at IMEMO, Nikolay Inozemtsev, who died in 1982, was a full member of the academy and served on its presidium. Yakovlev has been more pessimistic about the long-term prospects for detente with the United States than has Arbatov, arguing that the Reagan Administration represents the mainstream of American foreign policy, not a deviation from it.
- Vitaliy Zhurkin, 56, is the deputy director of the USA and Canada Institute with the longest tenure of Arbatov's four top assistants and is a possible successor to Arbatov. He has appeared to hew closely to positions taken by Arbatov since becoming a deputy director in 1971. In November 1984, Zhurkin, in an otherwise favorable review in Pravda of Yakovlev's recent book on the postwar history of U.S. foreign policy, appeared to criticize Yakovlev for exaggerating the danger posed by Washington's "adventurism."
- Viktor Volskiy has served as director of the Latin America Institute since 1966. His writings have fit into the mainstream of Soviet scholarship on Latin America, but under his administration his institute's journal, *Latinskaya Amerika*, has published a number of more innovative articles and has aired debates over current issues. In an April 1983 interview with the British newspaper *The Guardian*, Volskiy expressed doubt about the permanency of the Nicaraguan revolution and indicated that Moscow would not make the kind of commitment to its survival that it had made to that of the Cuban revolution.

History Division

The History Division took an unusually cautious approach to the elections, filling only three of its allotted nine slots and bypassing controversial candidates. Those elected appeared to be apolitical: The director of the Institute for Scientific Information on Social

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Sciences, Vladimir Vinogradov, was elected a full member and two historians little known outside the profession were elected corresponding members. More interesting were some of the 99 candidates not elected:

- Vladimir Trukhanovskiy (nominated for promotion to full member) is chief editor of *Voprosy Istorii* (*Questions of History*), which recently came under fire in the party journal *Kommunist* (No. 14) for publishing an article stressing the need for economic reform.² Trukhanovskiy personally took responsibility for this in a letter published in a November issue of *Kommunist* (No. 17).
- Pavel Volobuyev (nominated for promotion to full member) was removed in December 1973 as director of the Institute of History of the USSR after being criticized for historical revisionism. He has since then been a senior scientific researcher at the Institute of History of Natural Science and Technology.
- Vasiliy Kasyanenko (nominated as corresponding member) is chief editor of the influential party journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (*Questions of the History of the CPSU*). He was appointed in mid-1982, apparently on the initiative of Chernenko. Before he became general secretary, Chernenko's writings appeared frequently in this journal.
- Yuriy Arutyunyan (nominated as corresponding member) is head of a sector at the Institute of Ethnography. His publications have shown him to be an innovative specialist in sociological studies of relations among national groups in the USSR.
- Petr Rodionov (nominated as corresponding member) is the conservative longtime first deputy director of the Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism. A veteran party apparatchik, he has been involved in several controversies over politically sensitive historical issues and took, for instance, a leading part in the 1973 campaign against Volobuyev.
- Nodari Simoniya and Aleksey Levkovskiy of the Institute of Oriental Studies (nominated as corresponding members) have been involved in open polemics with more conservative colleagues over the applicability of the Soviet model to the Third World.

² The *Trends* of 31 October 1984, pages 10-13, discusses the *Voprosy Istorii* article and *Kommunist's* critique.

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**Philosophy and
Law Division**

The Philosophy and Law Division also took a cautious approach, bypassing controversial candidates. The division filled its allotted slots by electing three institute officials. Vladimir Kudryavtsev, the director of the Institute of State and Law, was elected a full member. A deputy director of the Institute of Philosophy, Vladimir Mshveniyeradze, and a deputy director of the Institute of Africa, Gleb Starushenko, were elected corresponding members. Those nominated as corresponding members but not selected included a prominent conservative spokesman and three of the best known and most controversial sociologists:

- Richard Kosolapov, chief editor of *Kommunist*, has recently led polemics against advocates of political and economic reforms.
- Fedor Burlatskiy, long one of the most outspoken proponents of reform, lost his post as deputy director of the sociology institute in the early 1970's. In recent years he has regained prominence as head of the chair of philosophy at the Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences and as political observer for *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and has resumed publicly promoting political and economic reforms. As a political observer, Burlatskiy regularly comments on international affairs and frequently takes indirect issue with his more conservative colleagues.
- Gennadiy Osipov, one of the original leaders of the innovative sociologists, was ousted as deputy director of the sociology institute when conservatives took control of it in the early 1970's. In the late 1970's he returned to prominence as head of a department at the institute and as vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association.
- Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, longtime head of the forecasting sector at the sociology institute, came under fire from conservatives in the early 1970's, but he has regained status in the social science community and heads a department at the institute.

Computer Division

Much of the unprecedented addition of academicians this year was a result of creating a new Division of Information Science, Computer Technology, and Automation. To staff the new division 14 full and 26 corresponding members were elected. The creation of the new division reflected the current desire of the party leadership to

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improve Soviet capabilities in the most advanced technological fields. The creation of the new division was spearheaded by academy Vice President Yevgeniy Velikhov, who was personally commended for this effort by Premier Tikhonov in his nationally televised USSR Supreme Soviet election speech on 1 March. The new division was officially created at the March 1983 annual meeting of academy members. The Politburo's interest in improving computer technology was most recently evident at its meeting reported in the 4 January *Pravda*, when it approved a program to expand computer production.
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